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BERDYAEV AS PROPHET
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THE

Commonweal

The World Council of Churches

A Catholic Point of View

by Gregory Baum

Split in the Labor Party

Public Ownership or No?

by Michael P. Fogarty

SUMMERTIME: A POEM . . . . . *by Leonard McCarthy*
OUR NEXT PRESIDENT . . . . . *by John Cogley*
GOD AND MEN . . . . . *by Michael Novak*
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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

A CHALLENGE TO THE CANDIDATES

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER'S surprising challenge to Vice President Nixon has disconcerted more people than Mr. Nixon. As could have been predicted, many Nixon supporters closed their ranks still tighter against what they regard as an attack on the man who is almost certain to be the Republican candidate for President. Mr. Rockefeller, they clearly feel, has stirred up relatively untroubled waters by stressing differences in a party that offered some show of unity.

It was quickly pointed out that Mr. Rockefeller had not increased his miniscule chances of being nominated by his party. On the contrary, he had simply increased the already impressive distance between himself and Republican leaders. Nor had he accomplished his stated purpose of urging the Vice President to declare himself on some of the most crucial questions that we now face.

Following this line of reasoning and conjecture, many people were ready to credit Mr. Rockefeller with large measures of political naiveté. Opposed by the astute Republican professionals, he had revealed himself, in their eyes, as gauche and amateurish. He had failed to accomplish his purpose, he had strengthened Nixon's already formidable position as front-runner, he had driven himself further from the party professionals and a chance for his own nomination, and he had provided the Democrats with an arsenal of effective ammunition.

All of these conclusions and the consequent harsh judgment of the Governor are based, however, on the premise that he wished to further his own Presidential ambitions for 1960 and to block Mr. Nixon's. But there is another alternative—and a more likely one. Since Mr. Nixon's reaction to the Governor's challenge was confidently expected by many political observers, it could hardly have come as a surprise to Mr. Rockefeller. Nor is it likely that he expected from the party regulars anything different from what they delivered. He did, after all, get a good idea of their opinions and attitudes during his recent trips around the country. Further, he was ready to concede that Mr. Nixon is the likely nominee and declared that he, as a firm Republican, would support Mr. Nixon.

WHAT IS MOST likely is that the Governor meant what he said, that he feels strongly enough about the issues he raised to brave not only the anger and annoyance of Republican regulars but also the pleasure and satisfaction of those Democrats who would like to regard him as a Democrat *manqué*. In his challenge he brought nationwide attention to these issues and to many differences between his approach and that of Mr. Nixon. He has increased—if he has not indeed created—the likelihood that these issues will be debated and discussed within the ranks of the Republican Party. They will certainly be points at issue between Democrats and Republicans during the campaign. Our concept and practice of foreign policy, health insurance, labor-management—these are a few of the areas which he singled out for special attention. They will inevitably be debated, if only at the insistence of the Democrats.

When challenged to point out the differences between himself and Democrats, Mr. Rockefeller selected four areas where, he stated, the differences were significant—individual initiative vs. Federal responsibility, civil rights, fiscal integrity and local government. A critic uncommitted to either party might find the list amusing, for he could make a persuasive case that, in regard to these issues, each party has neanderthal members who have more in common with each other than they do with other members of their own party. It is, in fact, exactly

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this that Mr. Rockefeller recognizes, and he is doing his best to see that the Republican Party moves far from the positions they would hold, to see that Mr. Nixon declares in favor of the future rather than relying on the past record of the Eisenhower Administration.

In trying to urge a new course for Republican leadership without criticizing the Eisenhower Administration, Mr. Rockefeller walks a narrow ledge. It is not surprising that Mr. Nixon has so far refused the invitation to walk with him. But neither is it encouraging. Whether Mr. Nixon will speak for his own program and his own views, even after the convention, is still a matter for speculation. Mr. Rockefeller has obviously raised problems for the Republican Party. Lest Democrats take too much partisan pleasure in this, they should recall that they face many of the same problems.

THE EICHMANN CASE

WHAT ARE the demands of justice in the extraordinary case of Adolf Eichmann? As head of the Gestapo's infamous "Jewish Department," Eichmann was the chief architect and executor of the Nazi program of "extermination." The slaughter of six million Jews as a result of this program can, it seems clear, be charged to him more than any other living person. Indeed, Eichmann has been quoted as saying that he would go to his grave laughing, that the six million Jewish dead he had on his conscience would be to him merely "a source of extraordinary satisfaction."

It is easy to understand how the tracking down of Adolf Eichmann became for the refugee-state of Israel a symbolic quest for justice and retribution. It is easy to understand the satisfaction in the Israeli government's announcement that after fifteen years of searching, "Jewish volunteers" had found Eichmann hiding in Argentina, had persuaded him to go "spontaneously" to Israel to be tried, and had spirited him out of his Latin American refuge.

Also understandable, however, are the disturbed and critical reactions in Argentina and elsewhere in the world. The Argentine government has protested vigorously against the way its national sovereignty was flouted and has threatened to take the case to the United Nations if Eichmann is not returned. The Argentine protest expressed the further view that Eichmann should be tried not in the state of Israel but rather by his own countrymen or by an international tribunal under the U.N. convention on genocide. Other critics of the Israeli action—including Dr. Nahum Goldman of the World Zionist Organization—have voiced similar objections. They have commented on the high-handed manner of Eichmann's capture and removal and have pointed out that he was a German national who committed his crimes, for the most part on German soil, when the state of Israel was not yet even in existence.

Premier Ben-Gurion has rejected every criticism. In a reply to Dr. Goldman he said "historic justice and the honor of the Jewish people" demanded that his government do what it did. He said further that, apart from the specific crimes of this one Nazi, it was "the duty of the state of Israel, the only sovereign authority in Jewry, to see that the whole of this story, in all its horror, is fully exposed . . . as a unique and unexampled crime, unparalleled in the annals of mankind. . . ."

Premier Ben-Gurion's feelings, and those of the majority of Israelis for whom he unquestionably speaks, are easily understandable, as we said. More than that, his appeal to "historic justice" is, under the circumstances, one not to be taken lightly. Nevertheless, sympathetic as we are to the deep emotions of the Israelis, we cannot help but feel that Israel's conduct of the Eichmann affair thus far has been at least open to serious question and, even more important, that its determination to carry out the trial will turn out to be a grave mistake.

The nations of the world obviously cannot accept any claim to a transcendent right held by Israel to ignore international law and order in fulfillment of the demands of an Israel-defined "higher" justice. Moreover, the assumption by Premier Ben-Gurion and his government of the right to speak and act in this case for all Jews, "as the only sovereign authority in Jewry," only intensifies the confusions and contradictions already latent in the nature of

Summer Schedule Begins

In line with the practice of other journals of opinion, and following the precedent this magazine established last summer, The Commonweal will be on an alternate week schedule during July and August. The next issue will be that of July 8, and subsequent summer issues will be dated July 22, August 5, August 19 and September 2. From September on, The Commonweal will be back on its normal weekly publishing schedule.

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the Israeli state. In terms of "justice," insofar as it can be grasped in this extremely difficult instance, it can at least be said that the alternatives suggested by Argentina—trial for Eichmann in Germany or by a U.N. tribunal—would be more in keeping with the traditional beliefs and practices of the world community.

Finally, the possibility of bringing to light the full horror and tragedy of Nazism—for the instruction and improvement of the world conscience—seems far more likely to be achieved by either of the alternatives put forward than by the trial and punishment of Eichmann by Jews only, under Jewish law, and in defiance of the opinions of so large a part of the world. We are afraid that on every count—in the interests of international order, the future relations of Israel with other sovereign states, the exposure and prevention of the evil of anti-Semitism—the course which Israel is taking threatens to do much more harm than good.

NEW SOVIET ARMS PLAN

IN A less tense atmosphere the new Russian disarmament plan presented at Geneva would have made more of a general impact on the West. Obviously the summit fiasco has greatly dimmed the chances of reaching any major agreements soon. One effect is to make for increased expenditures for armaments. Another is the Russian attempt to persuade the world that just as the "aggressiveness of the West" caused the failure of the summit, so the United States and Britain at Geneva are blocking world disarmament and peace.

When Premier Khrushchev addressed the United Nations in the course of his American visit, he proposed a universal disarmament scheme that logically was simplicity itself. And it was wholly dependent on the other nations' trust in Soviet promises—promises which invariabily need to be weighed in connection with the Kremlin's outspoken aim of world domination. The new Russian proposal has the same sweeping objective in view, but this time it breaks down into three stages. It again calls for a degree of trust which the United States finds impossible: the Russians call for agreement to their whole scheme before their first stage can be begun.

As the Soviets envisage this, the initial stage would involve both the destruction of all means of delivering thermonuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the dismantling of all foreign military bases (a familiar Russian demand). The Russians present this as a sign of their extreme generosity, as it would mean their giving up great advantages in the fields of missiles and rocketry, which are expected to be even greater in the next two or three years. The success of previous U-2 flights and the latest American space achievements may limit the force of this argument somewhat. Yet, if the Soviet Union lived up to its part of the bargain here, it would relinquish certain advantages. Would these be sufficient to make up for the permanent loss of our containing military bases?

The other two stages proposed by the U.S.S.R. would carry what had been begun to its conclusion. Conventional weapons would be destroyed and conventional armed forces brought down to modest, agreed limits. Finally, stockpiles and facilities for making thermonuclear and other mass-destruction weapons would be destroyed; except for limited militia, disarmament would be complete. The U.S.S.R. does not even claim its usual veto power, apparently, on most matters to come before the arms control commission.

In capitalizing on a proposal which reflects their own desire for a big shift in emphasis from arms to industry, and their fear of an atomic holocaust, the Soviets emphasize the vast sums disarmament would release to raise living standards in the world. Theirs is a serious proposal, for all its propaganda effects. It is now up to the West to bring forward counterproposals which, without involving similar risks, will give the world's peoples solid promise of security and peace.

REACTIONS TO "L'OSSERVATORE"

THREE WEEKS AGO we commented on the now famous editorial in *L'Osservatore Romano* for May 19 on the subject of Catholics in political life, in which the hierarchy's "right and duty to intervene" in the political field was defended. While reiterating that there can be no "split of conscience between the believer and the citizen," and granting that the unsigned editorial was primarily aimed at the Marxist-Christian Democratic struggle in Italy, we expressed our conviction that the editorial in question "represented a serious—and, to our mind, quite unnecessary—embarrassment to Catholics . . . it is obvious that the progress of the Church in the United States and the views of American Catholics do not receive the consideration they deserve in some Catholic circles in Europe. . . ."

Since our editorial was written, a number of

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Catholic publications in the United States and Europe have commented on the editorial in *L'Osservatore,* and the new editor of the Vatican daily has twice attempted to "clarify" the meaning of the original piece. Because of the importance of the subject, it seems worthwhile to give the highlights of these various comments here.

Many American Catholic editors saw no problem in the *Osservatore* editorial. Thus the *Pittsburgh Catholic* said: "Actually, there is nothing radically different . . . from what has been standard practice and common belief, particularly so far as the primary point of its editorial is concerned. This point is the absurdity of attempting to split the conscience into one part which is that of the believer and one which is that of the citizen." Similarly, the *Witness* of Dubuque said: "The editorial . . . was bound to be misinterpreted. It shouldn't have been. Actually, there was nothing new. . . ." The *True Voice* of Omaha commented that the editorial "bespeaks only what has always been taken for granted among Catholic people, namely: when moral values are involved in the political field, the Church must state its mind concerning those moral values." The Providence *Visitor,* criticizing a Providence daily's comments, rejected application of the editorial in *L'Osservatore* to the possible candidacy of Senator John F. Kennedy, saying that its "connection with birth control policy, parochial school support . . . or with Mr. Kennedy was entirely the creation of the . . . editorial writer's nervous imagination."

Several Catholic papers published in the United States, however, did not dismiss the *Osservatore* editorial quite so easily. The *Oklahoma Courier,* newspaper of the Oklahoma City-Tulsa diocese, said: "The stand . . .that the Church has the duty to direct the political activities of its laity is particularly unfortunate in the light of the 'semi-official' reputation of *L'Osservatore.* The statement's inference that the layman does not have any autonomy in the political order is a far step backward from the urgent appeals of recent Popes for the layman to wake up to his responsibilities in the areas of his competency—that is, the world and its institutions."

An article in the *Catholic Reporter* of Kansas City-St. Joseph observed that the Vatican paper "attempted to say, simply, that a man's religion must enter into and affect all phases of his life: that he cannot leave his religion behind when he enters into the field of politics. . . . The trouble is that the editorial didn't say this very clearly." An editorial in the *Indiana Catholic* saw the issue in much the same way: "It was not necessary to spell out for the Italians that the Church recognizes the autonomy of the State and was not claiming authority over politics as such nor the right to dictate how citizens should vote. But these things are not clear to non-Catholics. And our quarrel with the *Osservatore* editorial is that it did not sufficiently take into account the effect of its wording outside Italy."

In Europe, according to N.C.W.C. news dispatches, the Dutch lay-edited daily *De Tijd* said flatly that it had to reject the opinion expressed in *L'Osservatore.* The Jesuit weekly *De Linie* called the Vatican paper's editorial muddled and said: "The impression given is that, in effect, responsibility should be taken away from the laity, and in its general prescriptions *L'Osservatore* states things which evidently are concerned with a very special situation in Italy." The Dominican weekly *De Bazuin* commented: "Dare we hope that the author of the article . . . will one day be converted to the conviction that the opinion he put forward could be applicable only in a society of the past which was clerical, feudal, medieval?" Both the Jesuit and the Dominican weeklies rejected the idea that the editorial in *L'Osservatore* had worldwide application, and *De Bazuin* pointed out that some of the ideas expressed in it are "not accepted on this side of the Alps by any Catholic, either theoretically or practically."

In its own attempts at clarification, *L'Osservatore* treated the question purely in terms of secularism. Emphasizing the Church's duty to state its position on moral issues in political life, the Vatican paper defended the right of Italian Bishops to speak out, comparing their action with statements of the American Bishops against racial segregation or of the French Bishops against terrorism or of the Bishops of South Africa on the subject of *apartheid.* Its position, *L'Osservatore's* editor said, "does not prevent or contradict the autonomy of political activity in its proper field but binds Catholics only to the logical requirement of coherent action, which in every case means adherence to the teaching of the Church and the refutation of any splitting of conscience in the believer and the citizen."

There, at this writing, the matter stands. In our original editorial on the subject, we said that "attempts to describe the role of the believer as citizen in a modern pluralistic society obviously require very precise formulation—more precise than the article in *L'Osservatore* achieved." Nothing that has been said since has made us change that judgment.

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A CATHOLIC VIEW

The World Council of Churches

It is most significant that this body proclaims the great themes of traditional Christianity

by GREGORY BAUM

THE ECUMENICAL Movement for Christian Unity embraces today the majority of Protestant denominations and holds the loyalty of many Orthodox Churches. The established organ of this movement is the World Council of Churches, which considers itself a meeting place where the Churches come together to meet one another and to discover their unity in Christ. It must be emphasized, against much that has been written about the World Council, that the Council does not envisage the creation of a Super-Church comprising within itself the existing Christian communities, nor does it hope to reach a common agreement among the Churches by whittling down Christian doctrine to the lowest common denominator acceptable to all. This may have been the dream of some men involved in the Ecumenical Movement before the War, but the official position of the Council, from the first day of its existence in 1948, has always rejected such an ideal; more than that, it has always condemned this dream as being irreconcilable with Christian revelation.

What the Council desires is to help the Churches to discover the unity which Christ gave to His people at the beginning. The official documents of the World Council are so clear on this point that the Holy Office at Rome, in an instruction published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* of 1950 (p. 142), proposed that the Ecumenical Movement was due in part to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost and that it is a source of holy joy in the Lord for all Catholics. Of course, the Catholic Church does not participate in the World Council of Churches. According to Catholic faith, the unity which Christ gave to His people has always existed and still exists in the Church established on the Bishop of Rome, successor of the apostle Peter. At the same time, we read in the same instruction that the Catholic Church is deeply concerned about the Ecumenical Movement and desires that Catholics endeavor to promote it by their prayers.

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CONFRONTED with the Roman refusal to participate officially in the Ecumenical Movement, what is the attitude of the World Council of Churches toward the Catholic Church? The question is worth asking, since the literature produced by the Ecumenical Movement is considerable and its influence on Protestant thinking is increasing steadily. In which direction does the Council influence the Protestant world? Is the increasing cooperation among non-Roman Christians the occasion of a more effective opposition to the Catholic Church? Or does the sincere desire for the unity of *all* Christians, characteristic of the Ecumenical Movement, heighten the understanding of Protestants for the Catholic Church and create a deep, underlying feeling of solidarity?

The question is particularly appropriate, since some Catholics have little sympathy for the World Council and tend to look down on it rather smugly, as if it were our doing that Holy Church is the infallible witness to Christ's gospel. Let it be said immediately: it is my belief that the influence of the World Council of Churches on Protestant Christianity is in the direction of truth and that the Catholic Church looks more beautiful in the eyes of the Ecumenical Movement than she has ever appeared to Protestants before.

In the first place, it is most significant that the World Council of Churches, in all of its documents and reports, proclaims the great themes of traditional Christianity. We hear the undiluted creedal affirmations of the Trinity, the unity of Christ in two natures, the fall of humanity and its redemption in Christ, and the Christian's transformation in grace as an anticipation of the glory that is to come. It would be unrealistic to suppose that this creed is acknowledged by all the member Churches of the World Council; far from it. Some participants have doubts even in regard to the

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divine nature of Our Lord, even though the belief in Christ as God and Savior is the basis on which the Council was established. Nevertheless, the official documents of the ecumenical assemblies express traditional Christian belief without equivocation, and it is in this direction, in the direction of orthodoxy, that the Ecumenical Movement influences Protestant Christianity.

Indeed, the official Ecumenical literature reads as if dogmatic liberalism was really a thing of the past. We have here a reflection of the powerful impact which the great Protestant theologians of our century have made on the Ecumenical Movement. And yet, providentially, this influence is restricted to the overthrowing of liberalism. The particular theories and personal convictions of these great writers, which are often far away from the faith of the church-going Protestant, find no expression in the literature of the Council. The more seriously the Ecumenical assemblies are taken by the new generation of Protestant ministers and the educated laity, the more orthodox will be the faith of vast numbers of Protestants in the incarnate Son of God and in His divine revelation.

THE STARTLING "discovery" of the Ecumenical Movement is the central position which the Church, the community of the faithful, occupies in the New Testament. Contradicting the Protestant theories of yesterday, the official reports of the World Council assert that the Church is revealed in the New Testament as inseparable from Christ, as His earthly body, called to continue His worship of the Father and the reconciliation of men. As the temple of the Holy Ghost, built up with the various sacramental gifts of Christ, the Church is said to endure in history as the anticipation of the kingdom of glory. All this sounds like the most orthodox and traditional ecclesiology. It is true that to a multitude of faithful Protestants this scriptural approach may sound new and disturbing, but again it is reasonable to hope that a more thorough meditation and reflection on the Council's documents will influence the mentality of the Protestant Christians who are still fed by the theological ideas of the nineteenth century.

Even more important for our subject is the insight of the Ecumenical Movement that the divided state of Christianity is not simply the result of a religious conflict. It is largely due to non-theological factors, that is, to social, national or even philosophical differences between Christian groups which were, sinfully, translated into the order of faith and ecclesiastical allegiance. Quite apart, then, from the strictly theological aspects of our divisions, there exist barriers and obstacles to unity which are caused by ignorance, by prejudices, by a false attachment to unimportant traditions, and by the refusal to look upon other Christian groups in the light of their own understanding of themselves. The Ecumenical Movement has therefore declared an open war on all religious prejudice. We must have the courage to look at the facts, even when they hurt; there is no other way to discovering Christ's will for His people.

This attitude has produced an openness of mind in ecumenical circles which is unparalleled in the history of Christianity. It is no overstatement to claim that there have never been so many Protestants sincerely wanting to study the doctrines of the Catholic Church, to abandon inherited prejudices, and to understand the Catholic Church as she is seen by her own members. This does not mean that these men want to become Catholics! But they desire to grasp the Catholic vision of Christianity as far as this can be done from the outside. This openness of mind is the effect of the Ecumenical Movement wherever it is taken seriously, and for this reason alone Catholics should be grateful to the World Council of Churches.

It may well be that, until now, the impact of the Ecumenical Movement on American Protestantism has not been very great, but there are many signs that its influence is increasing and that, consequently, the desire to strip oneself of religious prejudices will become more and more a part of authentic Christian morality. In this, we too must learn from the World Council. For there are some Catholics, unfortunately, who believe that they honor the true Church of Christ by discrediting Protestant Christianity as much as possible. As if the end justified the means! The cause of God, we should not now need to be reminded, can be served only by truth.

BUT WHAT of the direct references to the Catholic Church in the documents of the World Council of Churches? Although the subject is large enough, and important enough, to warrant a complete study, it may be useful to make even a few, necessarily limited observations.

In preparation for the large assemblies of the World Council and its commissions, lengthy studies are made of the themes to be discussed, studies submitted by writers representing different denominations and edited together in convenient volumes by the Council. These papers contain a vast amount of information, biblical research and theological inquiries on the problems of Christian unity. Unfortunately, these books are not read enough by Protestant Christians, not even by those who attend the assemblies. At the conference at Lund, Sweden, one of the speakers suggested with a touch of annoyance that the participants should be required to pass an examination on the preparatory studies before they are admitted to the public discussion.

Inevitably, these volumes contain many essays on matters Catholic. In the first preparatory volume for the Amsterdam assembly the Danish theologian K. Skydsgaard wrote on the relation of the Catholic Church to

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the Ecumenical Movement, an essay paralleled and even surpassed by O. Thomkin's chapter on the same subject in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement,* a large volume of ecumenical research published under the auspices of the World Council. In these articles we find an insight into the Catholic theology of the Church which is, regrettably, sometimes lacking in our own books on the same subject. Particularly interesting are the volumes prepared for the Faith-and-Order conference at Lund. They contain an excellent essay on Catholic ecclesiology written by a Protestant theologian, a study of the Catholic liturgy, and a paper on the veneration of Our Lady.

Writings like these represent a phenomenon altogether new in the history of inner-Christian controversy. Protestants are now able to acquaint themselves with doctrine by reading studies prepared by fellow Protestants, speaking their language, free from persuasion, and yet presenting an authentic picture. It can only be hoped that the study commission of the World Council of Churches, which is responsible for these and similar papers, will gain more and more influence in Protestant Christianity. If God's plan is to be realized in His people, then this can only be through a greater assimilation of truth.

In this connection one might refer to an excellent new article by a Protestant scholar, in the *Ecumenical Review* of 1959, dealing with the Catholic position on civil tolerance of other religions. The article is a complete survey of all that has been written by Catholics on the subject in recent years, presented with sympathy and understanding, putting the accent on what makes the Church more gospel-like and more attractive. Again it is to be hoped—more than that, it should be the object of our prayers—that such literature will be read and seriously considered by more and more Protestant Christians.

In the official reports of the great assemblies of the World Council of Churches, however, references to the Catholic Church are comparatively rare. After all, the most immediate problem of disunity exists among our Protestant brethren themselves. The references and allusions to the Catholic Church which we do find in the reports are nevertheless interesting, and, whatever the context, they always express a great longing for unity, a desire that we join in the effort to re-create the oneness of all who believe in Christ, a willingness to recognize us as brethren, and the hope that we, too, will recognize in them faithful Christians following their Lord to the best of their understanding.

ONE MORE remark is in order. Since certain Churches belonging to the Ecumenical Movement hold doctrines which are identical, or very similar, to Catholic teaching, we notice that the assemblies of the World Council help many Protestants, particularly American Protestants, to appreciate more readily the Catholic viewpoint. Certain doctrines which usually irritate Protestants (such as, for instance, the veneration of Our Lady) are expressed at these assemblies in such a way that even those who disagree will recognize that these positions have a claim on Scripture, that they are not the invention of the Roman Church but rather belong organically to a larger vision of the Christian fact.

For example, the official report of the Lund conference contains an account comparing the various ways of regarding the saints: "Most people are ready to sing hymns of thanksgiving for the saints, thanking God for his victory in the lives of his people. Some would go farther and venerate the saints in heaven to the extent of celebrating their feasts; still others would seek their intercession believing that they can help us who are still engaged in the earthly warfare. For many of those who venerate the saints, the Blessed Virgin Mary has a unique place. . . . We must recognize that for some this aspect of worship is an expression of love flowing through Christ's mystical body. Others believe that such usage would be contrary to their understanding of the whole of the Christian faith, and they neither know nor desire any intercessor other than their Savior."

This is an example of ecumenical speech. And in this way, I believe, by confronting Protestants with Catholic doctrines held by certain member Churches, the World Council of Churches makes another contribution toward the presentation to our separated brethren of a more luminous picture of the Roman Church. For this, as for other accomplishments of the World Council, Catholics can be grateful.

SUMMERTIME

Always at noon and always on the hour
A noon-day devil broods on me,
Reads my books and sniffs my flower
And smiles that I shall not be free.

Always I tell him he is in the wrong place
And out of time, with the wrong one,
To find a hermit from an ancient race
Mad from locusts, sand and sun.

Always he listens, smiles again
And tries the bed and then the chair,
And speaks of abbeys where he's been
Of scourges there, and blood-stained hair,
And then says nothing.
Every day
I bring him lunch on a silver tray.

LEONARD MCCARTHY, S. J.

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OUR NEXT PRESIDENT

I HAVE a friend, a professor of Government, who holds that Dwight D. Eisenhower will go down in history as the last of the anthropomorphic Presidents. The trend, says my friend, is away from the President and toward the Presidency, an office which could conceivably be filled by an IBM machine.

If that is true, I think it is a disastrous turn of events. The problems our next President will face are such that they would seem to call for peculiarly human qualities of leadership. The present crisis is essentially human, a crisis in the history of mankind; the leadership we require is the kind that can move hearts and minds as well as shape events.

Today, a few months before the next President takes office, there are turbulent demonstrations in Japan against military alliance with the United States, and American leaders have a real concern for Mr. Eisenhower's personal safety during his trip to Tokyo. In the current newsreels you can see French policemen dragging pacifist demonstrators off to Parisian jails. The small group which for several years refused to take shelter during air-raid alerts in New York numbered hundreds of additional demonstrators this year and will probably be counted in the thousands by the time of the 1961 Civil Defense drills.

All this suggests to me that the horror of hydrogen war has finally gotten a hold on the popular imagination. Some of these demonstrations were of course instigated and organized by Communists and Soviet sympathizers. That we can always expect. But however they started, they have had a remarkable resonance. What has haunted the nuclear scientists since 1945 seems finally to be sinking into the consciousness of people the world over.

In his report on the summit fiasco, General de Gaulle, who can hardly be accused of either timidity or Communist sympathy, showed a keen awareness of this. Speaking of the possibility of nuclear war, he said that "there is no territorial disagreement or ideological dispute that has any importance in comparison with the necessity of exorcising this monstrous peril." And ultimately the peril lies not so much in any given world power as in the impersonal forces of nuclear energy.

It will not be enough for the next President to be a "man of peace." Good will alone will not save mankind. He will have to be a man of humane wisdom and political perspicuity, for it will be for him to provide the leadership which can grasp this universal longing for survival, wrest it from the Communist propagandists, give it direction and honest focus and lead the world toward genuine sanity. In doing all this, he will always be up against the shrewd, devilishly clever leader of the Soviet Union, who can be expected to remain the ideologue *par excellence*.

The next President can not feed on the wisdom of the postwar policy-makers, the first chieftains in the cold war, however much he admires their work. The world situation has changed too much for that; and the challenges are no longer what they were.

For example, our President will not be dealing with an unyielding Stalin but with a Khrushchev, who has already grasped the "peace" offensive. He will not be dealing with people only recently delivered from the misery of war but with a generation for whom the years 1939-45 are already a dim memory. He will not be dealing with a Communist Empire in the first phase of conquest but an empire fifteen or twenty years old. The word "containment" has lost its magic and the word "liberation" sounds hollow and vacuous today. Moreover, the new President will be dealing not only with the Soviets but with a mighty coalition of third forces whose leaders know, as Nasser and Castro know, that the strength of small nations can be increased tenfold by playing one giant against the other.

The real conundrum wrapped in an enigma confronting the next President is Communist China. That vast land with its uncounted millions has been cut off from the Western world for a full decade now. We may have carried on as if it did not exist or as if it were such an unspeakable horror it should not exist, but it has been there all the time.

Will a China equal in nuclear strength to the other great powers and considerably stronger in manpower, listen to reason? Will this nation where life has always been cheap, which is capable of sacrificing hundreds of millions of lives to the "cause," be in a mood to join arms control plans and disarmament treaties? Will it even want to accept the U.N. membership which has been denied it up till now? Will it break with the U.S.S.R. and thereby drive the United States and the Soviet Union into an alliance, as Hitler did? Will it use its enormous plurality of manpower to frighten the West?

No one can predict just what will happen in the coming eight years, but one thing is sure: our next President, whoever he is, will be coming into office at a time when greater political wisdom and human leadership will be required than at any time in history. He simply can not afford to make mistakes, not only for the nation's sake, for the sake of its purposes and policies, but for the sake of mankind itself. I really wonder why anyone wants the job. JOHN COGLEY.

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Should public ownership of the means of production be a primary goal?

Split in the Labor Party

by MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

AS MOST observers predicted last November, the British Labor Party's third successive defeat in a General Election has prompted an agonizing reappraisal of the Party's fundamental ideology. Under harshest scrutiny, of course, was its traditional commitment to the socialist principle of public ownership of the means of production.

Laborites joined in ideological battle immediately after their disaster at the polls. Labor and Conservative programs in the election of 1959 had covered much the same ground, it was pointed out, but where they diverged it was nearly always towards more public ownership and control in the case of Labor and less in that of the Conservatives. This, all spokesmen agreed, was a main issue in the election, and Labor's bias towards nationalization had proved a major vote-loser. Should it therefore be dropped?

The first shot was fired at the Party's November conference by Barbara Castle, Labor Party chairman. Only publicly owned industry, said Mrs. Castle, can be relied on to act responsibly towards the community. "The bonds of common interest have been deliberately loosened. . . . The highest virtue lies in looking after number one and the greatest merit in being strong enough to do it." The Party's election program had proposed that the State should buy shares in private industry and tap its profits. But this was "like legalizing the burglars' union on condition that we share the swag." Labor did not want to nationalize everything down to pin table saloons. But the way to social responsibility in industry lay essentially through public ownership.

Hugh Gaitskell, the Party leader, then politely (he is always polite) dropped a bomb squarely on top of the ark of the covenant. Public ownership, he said, is not after all "the be-all and end-all, the ultimate first principle and aim of socialism." To think so is to confuse ends and means. The ends of the Labor Party are such things as "a broad human movement on behalf of the bottom dog," a demand for social justice, the removal of snobbery and class privilege, and for a society based on fellowship and cooperation, on democracy and on respect for the common good. The Party long ago came to accept the coexistence of public and private enterprise "for the foreseeable future." Why not, then, delete from the Party Constitution the now famous Clause Four, a hoary relic of Keir Hardie and the Webbs, which commits it without qualification to nationalizing the means of production, distribution, and exchange?

THE ECHOES of Gaitskell's speech will go rumbling around the Labor movement for many years to come. Meantime, the state of the battle is as follows. Both Gaitskell and Mrs. Castle proved to have enthusiastic support. For Mrs. Castle there have spoken in particular Aneurin Bevan and Frank Cousins, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union and at this moment the most notable figure in the British trade union movement. Gaitskell has had the support particularly of some (not all) of the university-trained intellectuals such as Douglas Jay or Tony Crosland, author of *The Future of Socialism,* which has been something of a bible for the Right.

But the key to the situation has proved to lie in the fact that Labor is after all a political party run by politicians more interested in power than in what some of them contemptuously dismiss as "theology." It has been revealing and disheartening to see how many people, in and out of the Labor Party, identify "theology" with obscurantism. "Fundamentalism" is the word that in this controversy has most often gone with it. But aside from what some of us might think of this terminology, there is something to be said for the party *apparatchiks'* view.

Labor, like other reputable political parties, is a conglomeration of interest groups. That is how democracy works and must work. If party leaders think that their particular mix is on the whole more in the public interest than that of their opponents, they can quite fairly put off deciding an awkward issue which might split the party and let the other side in. That, at any rate, is the view the Labor Party has taken. After three months' argument it has come out with a supplementary statement of aims which leaves Clause Four intact—the Party is still formally committed to

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the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange—but also recognizes that "both public and private enterprise have a place in the economy."

For the moment, this leaves the nationalizers leading on points. A few months ago it was possible to argue that the nationalization clause was an amiable antiquity, one of those ancient monuments which, like dukes and beefeaters, we British delight to cherish. Today, however, it has been shown that the belief that private enterprise as such is immoral is too deeply engrained in a large section of the Labor Party to be removed except at the cost of a Party split.

Furthermore, the supplementary statement of aims, though affirming that there is after all a place for private enterprise, goes very far towards meeting the nationalizers' views. The social and economic objectives of the Labor Party, it says, can be achieved "only through an extension of common ownership substantial enough to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy, including State-owned industries and firms, producer and consumer cooperation, municipal ownership, and public participation in private concerns." Gaitskell has gone out of his way to insist that the new statement does not mean dropping any of the very extensive proposals for public ownership and control in the election program of 1959.

NEVERTHELESS, if one looks further ahead it is clear that though the nationalizers have won a battle they are far from winning the war. The new statement of aims has proved a bigger vote-loser than the old; recent Parliamentary by-elections show that Labor is still losing ground. The trend of social policy in our increasingly affluent society is away from nationalization and towards freer consumer choice. The conception of the Welfare State is shifting towards the idea that the state should ensure that adequate services are available to all, but should not take over or provide these services itself so long as others will do so. Collectively bargained fringe benefits are coming to play a bigger part than State social insurance. The idea gains ground steadily that parents should be free, economically as well as legally, to choose their children's school. As for the public ownership of industry, the poll experts assure us that it has been a dead duck since 1950.

There is plenty of social criticism in Britain today, and could well be more. But it comes from people who have no more admiration for State paternalism than for the industrial feudalism of German, American, or, for that matter, Russian corporations. We read with avidity the works of David Riesman, W. H. Whyte, J. K. Galbraith, or Vance Packard, or E. H. Leavitt's splendid article in the *Harvard Business Review* on corporate responsibility. We find that what these authors say is very much to the point in our own society.

In this case or that, these thinkers may suggest a need for more State intervention. But we do not find in them any reason to suppose that the problems of our society will be solved by establishing public ownership as a general rule. Those of us who are Catholics also reach uneasily at this point towards our Encyclicals. For public ownership as proclaimed by Barbara Castle cannot be reconciled with the Church's social doctrine, and even the version of it in the Labor Party's new statement of aims is getting dangerously near the edge.

A difficulty is that there is not yet in the minds of the British people, or, I think, of the American, a picture of the ideal society that would neither be a Windfall State, nor a nationalizers' paradise, nor yet a corporate feudalism. This picture it is our business to create, and some of us are busy doing it. Once it has been created, and the people of this country are faced with a clear choice, I do not think they will be in much doubt about the answer. Nationalization, in spite of current appearances, is on its way out among radicals as well as the rest of the population.

There is an exact earlier parallel in the history of the British Labor movement to what is happening today. Back in the 1880's and 1890's, when socialism was first coming in, the Old Guard of the Labor movement were old-fashioned nineteenth century liberals. As late as 1895 it was possible for them to expel a leading Socialist like Keir Hardie from the then chief forum of Labor politics, the Trades Union Congress, and to reassert their control. But the facts of the world around were too much for them. Problems demanding State intervention—full employment, development of the public school system, basic provision for social insurance—were pressing forward to be solved.

British parties, as it has been unkindly said, always prefer dishonor to death; they know how to face the facts. In the ten to twenty years after 1895 Socialist leaders took over on a Socialist platform, and it was as if the liberal Old Guard had never been. Today it is the Socialist Old Guard who are on the way out. But, as then, it may take ten years or more to get rid of them; and meantime they have proved to be still strong enough to reassert their control.

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Berdyaev as Prophet

by BERNARD G. MURCHLAND

A PROPHET IS a man who judges what is in terms of what might be. However engaged in the conditions of his time he may be, he is never satisfied with those conditions. His vision transcends them and points to a fuller reality. The prophets of Israel are the classic instance of prophecy. They not only announced the plan of God but they endeavored to realize it historically. They were more aware than others that divine reality is given to man as a promise, as something to be developed through successive historical stages towards an ultimate realization. The prophet's greatest fear is that growth be arrested, that the movement of reality be prevented from following its own internal dynamism. He must constantly lash out against the two temptations human kind is always prey to. First, the temptation to narrow-mindedness, that is, the danger that a given level of achievement be considered sufficient and become so structured that all further development be blocked off. This is the particular temptation of all historical institutions. Second, the temptation to Pharisaism, that is, the danger that exterior forms become more important than the inner spirit.

The prophets of Israel fought these temptations with holy ferocity. Among the thinkers of our century who approximate their religious and historical intensity, Nicholas Berdyaev is perhaps the most outstanding. Certainly Donald Lowrie's admirable biography of the Russian thinker *(Rebellious Prophet.* Harper. $6.) would lead us to believe so. I cannot help noting a touch of pleonasm in Mr. Lowrie's title. A prophet is necessarily rebellious. That quality is intrinsic to the definition of the word.

This is particularly true, and Mr. Lowrie well documents the fact, when the word is used of Berdyaev. Even as a child he felt that he was "not born of his parents, but came of some other world" and revolted from "the prose of life, from the empiric actuality" to seek refuge in an imaginative world of his own creation. Plagued throughout his life with an embarrassing tic, suffering exile (first in northern Russia as a student, then in Germany and France after 1922), distressed by the foreboding omens of his time, enduring broken friendships and the difficulty of adjusting to any normal way of life, Berdyaev is the very image of the man apart, the suffering servant bearing "the illness of the world within him." This image emerges in a wealth of detail under Mr. Lowrie's careful pen. He discusses Berdyaev's family background, his childhood, his lonely and maladjusted school years, his tumultuous university years during the pre-revolutionary period and his fierce intellectual and social energy during the time of Russia's extraordinary cultural renaissance of the first years of this century. (One typical incident is recorded: as the dawn was breaking over one of the frequent all-night discussion groups and the participants began to straggle off, Berdyaev shouted: "But we can't leave yet; we haven't settled the problem of God.") We learn, too, of his marriage and the parabola of his intellectual and spiritual genesis through Kantianism, Marxism, Nietzscheanism, German idealism, leading finally (under the influence of some mystical writers and especially Dostoevsky) to Christianity.

BERDYAEV IS so unusually complicated and many-sided that it is difficult for the critic to catch the central theme of his life's work. I think Mr. Lowrie is right in suggesting that it is to be found in Berdyaev's awareness of the reality of another world and the illusory status of this world. Anything finite, limited or corporeal aggravated him. There are clear Manichaean strains in the early Berdyaev which may be illustrated by his views on politics and marriage. He denounced politics as a "patent falsehood, a parasitic growth on human society," a betrayal of everything that was real. In similar terms he denounced sexual love and held the business of begetting children in very low esteem. Berdyaev believed in the androgynous origins of man and on one occasion wrote: "In the depths of sex, creativeness must conquer begetting, personality must overcome race, union in spirit must conquer natural union by flesh and blood. . . . this can only be the revelation of the androgynous, God-like nature of man."

Yet these views conceal paradoxes. Berdyaev is never saying quite what one first thinks he is. His thought is hinged on a radical dialectic of time and eternity. Furthermore, he was aware of his besetting fault as a "temptation to the future" and made a special effort to work out a form of existential thought that would

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not only take due account of but would ennoble the created order. Thus in spite of his dislike of politics he was constantly preoccupied by social problems.

The varied facets, often inconsistent and even contradictory, of Berdyaev's prophetic *Weltanschauung* cannot be properly grasped without reference to his autobiography. He saw his whole work revolving around a single axis and given inward unity by a handful of constant themes. The axis was the notion of freedom. In *Dream and Reality*, one of the most important spiritual testimonials of the twentieth century, he writes: "I love freedom above all else. Man came forth out of freedom and issues into freedom. Freedom is a primordial source and condition of existence, and characteristically, I have put Freedom, rather than Being, at the basis of my philosophy. I do not think any other philosopher has done this in such a radical and thorough-going way . . . I might say that all my life I was engaged in hammering out a philosophy of freedom. I was moved by the basic conviction that God was truly present and operative only in freedom."

Another passage from the autobiography indicates the intuitive character of his thinking: "I want to emphasize that my whole philosophical approach is radically incompatible with a belief in the possibility of a rational ontology . . . I can only admit a phenomenology which describes metaphysical reality in symbolic terms. Any rationalization of the divine-human relationship . . . makes nonsense of both that relationship and that philosophy. It can only be spoken of in symbolic and mythological terms which leave the door open to Mystery."

THUS A DOMINANT theme of Berdyaev's work was the idea of "objectification." The objective world is devoid of ultimate reality. Objective indicates the enslavement of the spirit to external things. It is the product of disruption, estrangement and enmity while the original reality of creative freedom is in the person (also referred to as subject and spirit) rather than in Being. The temptation to hypostatize every process of thought into essentialist concepts, Berdyaev believed, was a sign of our fallen condition which can only be evaluated and partially overcome from the point of view of "a philosophy of freedom, of creativity and of communion of love."

He is led on inevitably, not to a philosophy of subjectivity, but to a philosophy of personalism. He saw the human person in opposition to all the impersonal and supra-personal forces of the objective world that threaten to destroy man. And what is primary in personality is spirit, a theme that runs throughout Berdyaev's writings and signifies the essence of man's divine-human reality. Any form of "realism" which gives primacy to the general over the individual and subjects the human mind to generalities is a source of man's enslavement. The Christian concept of God, which is far from Aristotle's notion of pure act, is the God "who made man and with whom man enters into personal relations." Berdyaev was convinced that a re-examination of all philosophical postulates in light of the Christian emphasis upon the personal and singular would mark a revolution in the consciousness of modern man.

The notions of uncreated freedom, personality, spirit, sacrificial love, creativity: these are among the key themes of Berdyaev's thought. Thus he has much in common with some of the recent exponents of Christian humanism, existentialism and the philosophy of the spirit movement launched by Louis Lavelle and Rene LeSenne. What makes Berdyaev unique is not so much his philosophical ideas; it is rather the intensity and depth these ideas take on when they are orchestrated within the over-riding divine-human dialectic. Berdyaev was a fierce believer. His conversion, somewhat like that of St. Paul, was swift. A contemporary said of him that he became a Christian before he learned to pronounce all the words in the creed, that he showed all the signs of a stranger in a foreign land.

It is true that Berdyaev was and remained a special kind of Christian. Someone has called him a religious freethinker. Few formal orthodoxies could accommodate him; nor he them. "I do not admit of any orthodoxy," he confessed in his autobiography, "intruding itself on me and asserting its possession of truth apart from my own free quest." And then a twist of the dagger: "I am even inclined to think that compelling orthodoxy has no relation to truth at all and, indeed, holds truth in abomination." He came to Christ through the painful paths of freedom and not by way of habit or tradition. Dogmatic formulas and abstract theologies would always be anathema to him. It was from this special angle of vision that he evaluated human reality in terms of Christian revelation. And it must be fairly admitted that the Russian exile announced some profound and disturbing truths.

IT IS AS A CHRISTIAN thinker that Berdyaev will finally have to be assessed. But the time is not yet ripe. All that can be done at present is to attempt to align his principal theses, leaving ultimate judgment of them to the future. Yet at the same time we can acknowledge that many of them compel spontaneous assent from the Christian heart. In the first place it is unquestionably true, as Berdyaev maintained in and out of season, that Christianity introduced a radically new order of reality. The old has passed away and man is a "new creature." Berdyaev pushed St. Paul's expression to what can only be described as frightening proportions, envisaging a creature most would prefer to think could exist only in an angelic order. Too, the authenticity of Berdyaev's stress on man's

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creative role seems beyond question. With many of his contemporaries he held "great hope that a continuation of revelation was possible in Christianity, a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit."

In Freedom and the Spirit he deals with the problem at great length. Here his view of man is announced in clear prophetic tones: "Man is by no means a completely finished product. Rather he molds and creates himself in and through his experience of life, through spiritual conflict, and through those various trials which his destiny imposes upon him. Man is only what God is planning, a projected design." Berdyaev seems again to have been right in observing that Christianity "must turn toward more complex souls and discover a more profound spirituality." He urged a spiritual elite, an aristocracy of the spirit and complained bitterly of the tendency, so frequent in history, of Christianity to compromise with the lowest common denominator. History works in favor of the average, the general, the collective. Our principal institutions and customs have been adapted and distorted according to the elementary needs of the "herd-mentality."

In this respect Berdyaev formulates another problem. He asks: "Are we bound to consider as absolute and unchangeable that form of the Christian revelation which was intended for the average man? Must the more spiritual, complex, and subtle type of man . . . be brought down to a lower level and perforce rest content with a reduced spirituality for the sake of the masses, and in order that he may share the fellowship of the whole Christian people?" Berdyaev reflected the mentality of those seekers still under the spell of Nietzsche who were confronted with a Christianity that had already been pronounced dead. Moreover, he was raising a question that is more fully recognized today. Much of recent Catholic writing, for example, has been concerned with this precise problem and is eagerly in pursuit of the meat of Christianity after having realized that the milk will no longer suffice.

In the *Destiny of Man* Berdyaev is again engaged in a struggle for the freedom of man's spirit and, more particularly, focuses his efforts on the ethical concern of "self-realization through co-creativity with God." He considered this his most important work. In it he elaborates the three stages of man's spiritual evolution and makes his famous prediction of the Third Age. His reasoning here moves, by leaps and bounds, at many levels and is not easy to follow. But one cannot help suspecting that in this prophecy is manifested one of the great expressions of genius of our times: a new spirituality for what has already revealed itself as the beginning of a new age in human history.

It is important to note that Berdyaev is not a victim of false idealism in this matter. He is clearly aware that spiritual life has always been in danger of legalistic deformation which originates in the process of social objectification and adaptation to everyday life, to the life of nature, of this world. But he is also aware that the spiritual life is not "determined by rules, laws, norms, or general principles. It is rather an inner struggle, an experience of freedom, a clash of opposing principles; it is based on a tragic principle postulating contradictions, antagonism, negation."

THE GREATEST mark of Berdyaev as prophet lies in this tragic divided-ness. This is the final picture of the man as Mr. Lowrie shows him to us in his very worthy biography—a picture of a man living in quiet, bereaved of his wife, sickly, pained by the development of the situation in Russia, brooding over the increasingly sorry condition of the world; yet a man committed unto the last, seated at his desk before the completed manuscript of *The Realm of Spirit and the Realm of Caesar* and an open Bible when death came on the afternoon of March 23, 1948.

In the end Berdyaev understood more deeply than ever his early intuition of the most profound of all Christian truths: this world is not enough! The meaning of the "accursed questions" of man in history lies beyond history. With Bloy and Péguy, the Western writers who are most in his spirit, he believed that Christians have no abiding city on earth, that they should be seekers of the city to come. He saw the two motives of man's inner life as the search for meaning and the search for the eternal. The war years had deepened his views that life in this world was tragic. The years of bloodshed, wholesale destruction and indescribable human afflictions pressed him to meditate more and more on death and evil, suffering and eternity. The fruits of these meditations are contained in *The Divine and the Human*. When death, the moment of supreme clarification in which love issues into eternal life, approached, he still saw his life as that of a seeker after truth and a rebel who desired freedom from the bondage "of life to things, objects, abstractions, ideologies, and the fatalism of history." The last words of his autobiography are indicative of the eschatological bent of his thought:

"Faced with the futility of his own existence the modern European finds himself stranded high and dry. The trouble is not, of course, political in the narrow sense. It concerns what are known as the bourgeois values of life. These values have created an appalling vacuum in the mind and heart of modern man. . . . Christians will have to show a power to move men *in extremis,* without looking to the right or the left, coupled with a genuine sensitiveness to the issues of our time. For my part, I see no solution of the betrayal of the world by Christians or the betrayal of Christianity by the world until history is ended. Only beyond history is there victory for the spirit of God and man."

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THE SCREEN

REVELS NOW ARE ENDED

FOREIGN FILMS continue to liven our screens and, even when they're not first-rate, stimulate American audiences and American movie makers. These imports are more welcome than ever during this period of Hollywood, post-strike doldrums. Here's a quick run down of some of the newest entries which, although they don't display European film-making at its best, are worthy of note.

Ingmar Bergman was making interesting movies long before he became a cult on the basis of such brilliant and original films as "The Seventh Seal," "Wild Strawberries," and "The Magician"; and some of his earlier films, while not in that top class, merit attention and respect. "Dreams," written and directed by Bergman in 1955, is an outstanding example. It tells the story of two Stockholm women who are exceedingly well played by Eva Dahlbeck and Harriet Anderson. The first is the head of a photographic agency, a hardened career woman who beneath her blasé pose is melting with desire to renew an old affair with a married man; Miss Anderson, is a model in this agency, an attractive and vivacious young girl who doesn't know what she wants after she quarrels with her youthful fiancé.

In Gothenberg on a job, the two women indulge in romantic day dreams that end like unpleasant nightmares. Eva's rendezvous with the married man (Ulf Palme) is interrupted by his wife (Inga Landgre) who exposes her husband as an aging fool while he ashamedly listens to the two women discuss him. Meanwhile Harriet allows herself to be picked up by another aging married man (Gunnar Bjornstrand) who plies her with clothes and jewels and champagne before he realizes the ridiculous difference in their ages and before his nasty daughter casts an unpleasant aura over what may or may not have been a harmless flirtation. Bergman draws no momentous conclusions from these bitter experiences. Perhaps the women are a little wiser after their run-ins with these pathetic specimens of men. At least, empty-headed Harriet appreciates her young fiancé, though calloused Eva is more cynical than ever. Bergman's 1955 "Dreams" may not have the depth or poetic symbols of his later films, but it does have his polished technique and stimulating diversion.

THE RUSSIAN films shown here under the U.S.A.—U.S.S.R. Cultural Exchange Agreement got off to a good but not brilliant start with "The Cranes Are Flying," "Swan Lake" and "Circus Stars." Now we have two more Russian items, interesting but not particularly startling. While they may be a step forward in the better understanding of the Soviet peoples, the movies are not entirely successful—and strangely enough, through no fault of their own.

The Russian "Othello," which has a fine cast and some stunning color photography of Venice and Cyprus, is marred by the addition of an English sound track. Director Sergei Yutkevich uses many close-ups of the majestic and tormented Moor, his lovely, bewildered wife and the villainous Iago; but no attempt was made to match the lips of the actors to the spoken Shakespeare dialogue, and this proves so distracting that the viewer doesn't know whether to look or listen. This mish-mash is most unfortunate since the film itself, although acted in a somewhat grand opera manner, is visually beautiful and moving and has an effective score by Khachaturian. Instead of the annoying English dubbing, it should have settled for a few Shakespearean quotes as sub-titles.

FORTUNATELY "And Quiet Flows the Don," which is the most Russian of all the Exchange films shown here so far, is presented on a small screen with English sub-titles that eliminate the odious dubbing. It tells a tempestuous and violent story of a hero who is, strictly speaking, no hero at all but a lusty and willful young man with a hatred for war that is exceeded only by his love for life.

This film is obviously not for the squeamish; Director Sergei Gerasimov spares no sensibilities in its frank love scenes and in the sequences of bloody violence. But its main fault lies in its being part of a much longer movie, a sort of Russian "Gone With the Wind" of which this is only the beginning. While the script, stemming from the first part of Sholokhov's lengthy novel of the Don, is well written, it is also very episodic; and the movie starts characters and ideas that it never carries to completion. As a picture of the Cossacks in pre-revolutionary Russia, "And Quiet Flows the Don" has an air of authenticity and vitality; but as a finished movie it's just not all there.

INTERESTINGLY enough, two Italian films being released here now also deal with the Russians. Both are rather handsomely photographed in Eastman Color and Totalscope; both have international casts including some American stars who speak in their own tongue, while the Italian and French actors have English voices dubbed in; both films are set in the time of Alexander II; and neither of these elaborate movies adds up to very much. "The Cossacks" is mainly concerned with a young man (John Drew Barrymore) who was taken as a hostage from his Circassian chieftain father (Edmund Purdom) by the Russians who raised him as a cadet in St. Petersburg. The boy distinguishes himself by saving the Czar (Massimo Girotti) from an assassin and by falling in love with the daughter (Georgia Moll) of a prince who is sent to the Caucasus

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to wage war on their rebellious chief. When the boy returns to his native land, he has to decide whose side he's on. The main trouble with the film is it could never decide which side it's on.

The producer of "The Cossacks," W. Tourjansky, directed the other Italian movie, "Prisoner of the Volga," which is even sillier. It too is mainly concerned with a young man, a cavalry officer played by John Derek. After his marriage to a princess (Dawn Addams), he discovers she is pregnant and that her guardian is the base villain. This melodrama goes on and on after the death of the wife and becomes a half-hearted chase thriller with the Cossacks as the pursuers and Derek as the pursued. Complications are added by an innkeeper's lovely daughter (Elsa Martinelli) and some Volga boatmen (complete with song). No doubt it is good for those Americans who always rave about foreign films to know that Europeans also turn out mediocrity; but now that Hollywood has practically stopped making B films, theater owners here who still show double-bills will welcome these foreign B's for the lower half of the program—where they belong.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

"HOPE AND THE CHRISTIAN"

Notre Dame, Ind.

TO THE EDITORS: Father Daniélou's article "Hope and the Christian" [April 1], was disappointing precisely because he expressed the parts so well without quite tying them all together. He laments the failures of Christians, especially in the fields of social justice and international peace, and challenges us to accept our responsibilities there, yet never suggests how much of our failure could be due to a partly misplaced earthly hope. Down through the centuries we have tended to view Divine Providence (in material things) as something almost entirely separate from human providence, something which substitutes for human providence, compensates for its failures, may even be jealous of its successes. As a result, we have accepted, as God's will, things that God wills us to change. We have hoped in God for the very things God has been hoping in us to provide.

It is odd that Father Daniélou would not have made this explicit, because he showed so clearly that there was almost no historical evidence for a Divine Providence (in the physical world) which is separate from human providence. The present and past state of Christians gives little reason to hope for a solution to man's earthly problems which by-passes human effort. And Father Danielou's clear and moving passage on the relation between earthly hope and theological charity gives the key to the relation between Divine Providence and human providence in regard to the things of this world. If God has abandoned the world to us, He has not abandoned us. It is a Christian's role not to *find* God's will in the world, but to *put* it there, with God's help. That help comes normally through the grace of accepting responsibility not through frequent Divine interventions in the physical order.

I write this not in any mood of academic concern but from the concern of a parent who has learned that his month-old child has suffered damage to heart and brain, probably from a pre-natal virus infection. Her condition has been the focus of many prayers on the part of family, friends and fellow-parishioners. While not discounting the possibility of an eventual miracle, I feel that such prayers have already shown fruit in the devotion of our doctors, nurses and nursing Sisters, and the zeal of those research workers, past, present and future, whose efforts may make it possible to repair the damage.

Even if some of the damage should be beyond present human methods of repair, her condition may inspire and give leads for research that would prevent such things from happening to future babies. Virus infections represent one of the major sectors of untamed nature, and their conquest may require more realization of the devastation they can cause, more realization of the opportunity they offer Christians for a positive sharing in Divine Providence.

Beyond this, I feel those prayers have borne fruit in the love we have for this child and in the understanding and helpfulness of our family, friends and neighbors. We confidently hope that those prayers will continue to bear fruit in the attitudes of all whom she meets and those of the child herself when she has to face her problems.

If human history affords little evidence (other than occasional miracles) of a Divine Providence by-passing human effort, I have found little evidence in the New Testament that God promised such things to the children of the new dispensation, however much He may have done so for the children of Israel. Re-reading the Sermon on the Mount, for consolation, I have found in it a message quite different from its common interpretation. I find it saying that God has already provided that He is going to provide in the physical order, that He provides it equally for the good and the bad, and that He does not want us pestering Him as if He were holding out on us. Most of all I find it saying that these physical necessities are going to become available to mankind through our seeking of the Kingdom, through our charity, through our acceptance of our social responsibility.

Unless we see that our charity, working with the tools of human providence, art, science and technology, social and political reform, is no encroachment on

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God's Providence, but the way He has chosen for its realization, we are not likely to accept the challenge which Father Daniélou offers so movingly at the close of his article. Perhaps Father Daniélou felt such a statement as the above unnecessary. I feel, however, that many Christians are not psychologically prepared to accept the extent to which God has put the world into their hands. I wish that someone of Father Daniélou's stature could make the full extent of our responsibility more explicit.

JULIAN R. PLEASANTS.

"PACKAGED WISDOM"

Amherst, Mass.

TO THE EDITORS: Most of Richard J. Bernstein's criticisms of the current trend in general education as "packaged wisdom," as experimental "variations on variations," have great validity [Apr. 22]. Many would agree, for example, that "American studies" is usually a poor substitute for the great disciplines of history, philosophy, and literature.

But the dream of general education is a noble one and as a technique it cannot be dismissed with Whitehead's triple play (from romance, to precision, to generalization). Permitting the beginner to generalize does not preclude a subsequent refinement (precision). And besides, some of the most seminal generalizations ever made were often imprecise. To insist on precision and "information" first is like trying to teach a child to play the clarinet by forbidding all tunes and demanding only accuracy of tone and fingering.

Educators, of course, disagree as to what comes first. But certainly Mr. Bernstein was unfair to discredit the program as a whole when it has worked so well for so long at such places as Harvard, St. John's, and Chicago. If at some other institution it includes a course in "Clothing Selection, Purchase, and Care," then that is a reflection on the institution and not on the ideal of general education.

Finally, the traditional alternative to general education—the departmental mass survey with each department insisting on its own unique indispensability—too often results in an un-integrated, tragic waste of effort on the part of students. These surveys usually rely on textbooks and the student is fobbed off on graduate teaching assistants. The senior men must do research and publish (to gain more precision).

Rightly understood general education means the study of important subject matter in an orderly manner. Where the hucksters have taken over the subject matter is trivial, lopsided, and disordered.

MARIO S. DE PILLIS.

"APARTHEID AND THE CHURCH"

Long Beach, Calif.

TO THE EDITORS: The Commonweal is not a magazine noted for levity, nor for particularly subtle humor, yet my sense of risibility was well titillated in the reading of Sean Boud's "Apartheid and the Church" [June 3rd].

He said, with all seriousness, I assume, "Further, I can honestly say that in the years I lived in the Union I heard not one sermon preached on the racial question."

Both my wife and I laughed uproariously; we both agreed that in listening to sermons all over the United States in many different parishes—for over thirty years—we had yet to hear one sermon preached on the racial question—(or on the question of economic justice—or on the question of the place of the lay apostolate—etc., etc., etc.). The Sacraments and Sacramentals, yes; Vocations, yes; Building Programs, yes, yes, yes; but highly pertinent, charged, controversial, informative sermons on key questions of social and economic justice, no, no, no, a thousand times no.

Author Boud quotes a Union cleric who states "The work of the Church among the European community has been directed by a recognition of the conditions prevailing." Somewhat the same observation could also be made here in the United States.

A. C. GERMANN.

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The Effort to Say Something Worthy of God

THE PRESENCE OF GOD. By Jean Danielou, S.J. Helicon. $1.95.

THE DISCOVERY OF GOD. By Henri de Lubac, S.J. Kenedy. $3.95.

By MICHAEL NOVAK

FATHER DANIELOU'S slim volume is a meditation on the many presences of God among us. He searches Scripture carefully and lovingly, in the manner of Origen and Augustine, to find what God has told us of His dwelling with us. He understands the image of the temple as it is used in Scripture: used for the entire cosmos, for the mosaic tabernacle and later the splendid one of Solomon, for the body of Christ, for the Church, for the temple of the prophets continued in the liturgy, for the Christian person, for heaven. The progressive specification and localization of God's presence is not at the cost of earlier stages; each stage is only more loving and effective. Thus it is that all the world is close to God, and yet the more a man enters into himself the closer still he comes to Him. God is there, unfathomable and alluring.

Father de Lubac's book, translated from *Sur les chemins de Dieu,* a revision of *De la Connaisance de Dieu* which appeared in 1945 and 1948, is a much longer book, though itself but two hundred pages. It is a work of scholarship, where Father Danielou's is a scholar's meditation. Both books are redolent with intelligence and prayer, in the tradition of the Fathers.

The Discovery of God is a collection of insights gathered under such headings as "The Origin of the Idea of God," "The Affirmation of God," "The Ineffable God," "God in Our Time." Father de Lubac is a man of immense erudition. His insights are the fruit of a large familiarity with the Fathers, the many scholastics, and modern European writers. His footnotes (shortened in the English version) are a guide to much that has been written concerning God. His distinctions and warnings arise from his recognition of the many false starts, blind alleys, and inchoate errors man has been prone to in his age-long wrestling with God.

But Father de Lubac's book is not a tract. It warms the caution of the scholar with the imagination of the artist and the affection of the lover. Its loose yet unified form gives it the informal, refreshing spirit that the discovery of God requires. Nor does it detract from the author's expression of his thought. A long concluding postscript defends the intent, method, and spirit of the book from critics suspicious of its freshness—a plague Father de Lubac has long suffered under, and courageously.

The American reader may wonder what will be the effectiveness of such a book among American atheists and agnostics, should it by chance fall into their hands. Walter Kaufmann's recent *Critique of Philosophy and Religion,* for example, is likewise an attempt to bring the discussion away from academic tomes; and though its attempt at wit often reads rather like flippancy, it too is a sincere search for meaning and for God. Yet something in the American atmosphere makes such books self-defeating. The tone is cold, alternately defiant and suppliant. "Tell me," Kaufmann seems to say,"—but of course, you can't." To what the resistance is due—positivism, or the American isolation from the reaction against the religious past—is difficult to decide; but one meets it constantly among the educated people of America. America is a nation of the Enlightenment as no other nation is.

Father de Lubac's book is, on the other hand, steady, contagious, deeply certain. Tone, however, will not settle the argument; for many Americans it will only heighten it. "See," they will say, "it is a matter of feeling. Some temperaments can do it, some cannot." Father de Lubac certainly neither intends nor implies such a conclusion. He supplies every evidence of an intellectual approach to God. But I suspect that the possibility of his failure to convince will arise from two chief sources.

One of these sources, of course, is the difficulty of the task. God is beyond explanation, forever alluring, but in the same measure never quite satisfying. Father de Lubac insists again and again on the point; and perhaps one advantage to his loose, meditative method is its rendering impossible the illusion of a complete logical system, exhausting the reality. "Have we said anything, uttered any sound, which is worthy of God?" he quotes from St. Augustine. "I feel that I have said nothing but what I wished to say; yet if I have said anything, it is not what I wished to say. . . . And a sort of battle with words ensues. Since if what is ineffable is what cannot be said, yet what can be called even ineffable is not ineffable. This battle with words is to be prevented by silence rather than [put to rest] by speech."

The second source, however, is more injurious to Father de Lubac's purposes. Several times, and especially in the postscript, he adverts to the moment of vitality and creativity he knows is present *somewhere* in the intelligence and before conceptualization. He is more careful to point this out than most scholastics, but like them he never fully analyzes the significance of such a moment in order to exploit it. Since the point is crucial to every critical turn in his argument, this failure in analysis cannot avoid weaving a fundamental ambiguity through the whole discussion.

Father Bernard Lonergan has seen the possibilities of that moment, and the necessity of explicating them. In *Insight* (Philosophical Library. 1958), he found it necessary to shift the whole primacy in knowing from the concept to it. The shift is momentous. It takes the ambiguity from Father de Lubac's analysis, without contradicting its validity. Far better than Kauf-

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mann's book does, it resolves the dialectic between rationalism and existentialism. It makes primary in knowing the free, creative, and unpredictable act of understanding. And, in so doing, it offers also the most living, creative, and transcending analogy for God.

God is not like our conceptualizing. He is not thought or idea. He is understanding. He is the understanding from whose grasp all things in the cosmos receive their intelligibility. He is understanding, without limits, and hence beyond our finite understanding. Thus, as Father de Lubac points out, philosophical analysis ends open at the top. It points to where God is, and it is critical of what God is not. But the Prey eludes its final grasp, not allowing Itself to be touched or embraced, or imagined, or conceptualized. We may know that God is understanding, but what infinite understanding is like we have no way of telling. We babble, says St. Thomas.

Claims of a Novel

A DISTANT TRUMPET. By Paul Horgan. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $5.75.

By THOMAS F. CURLEY

IT'S A STRANGE feeling to have about a novel that is some six hundred twenty-five pages long, but when I finished this book, I felt there should have been more. It's hard to say just why I felt this way but I think it's worth a try.

First of all about the book. The hero of the story is Matthew Hazard, born in 1856 and left fatherless when his father, a soldier in the Union Army, was killed at Chickamauga. The "earliest chief thing" Matthew Hazard knew in his life was who he was and who he was going to be. He was his father's child and he was going to be a soldier in the U.S. Army. He grew up in a time, as Mr. Horgan states, when "two prevailing visions" appeared above the lives of Americans: one was the Civil War; the other was the West. The one made memories; the other promises.

Matthew grew up in Fox Creek, Indiana, and one day, the most memorable of his life, President Lincoln came through town on a train. He spoke to Matthew and, having been told that his father had died in the war, gave him a Union officer's cap. When Matthew grew up he went to West Point, graduated, fell in love and was engaged to Laura Greenleaf, a colonel's daughter, whose mother fought the marriage, unsuccessfully, with every resource at her command. Matthew's first assignment was to Fort Delivery in the Arizona territory. After about a year, he was given leave, returned East and married Laura who accompanied him back to Fort Delivery.

I have skipped innumerable episodes, not because they are without interest, but rather because all the way through Mr. Horgan seems to be slowly and carefully building up to a grand and awesome climax. Finally the climax comes. A General Alexander Upton Quait, a memorable eccentric, but an efficient officer, is assigned to the western territory. His aim is to put an end, once and for all, to the troubles with the Indians. The hundred odd pages of Book Three, entitled *Trial at Arms,* are by far the best in the book. General Quait's tactical genius, Matthew Hazard's heroic devotion to duty and the reliable character of an Indian scout enable the General to achieve his end in a relatively short time.

A hero's welcome is given Matthew in Washington. But he learns, just before receiving the Medal of Honor, that his Indian scout, White Horn, who had accompanied the captured Indians to Florida, had been detained himself by order of the Adjutant General. All Indians were to be treated alike. Those who had fought with the Army were to be no better treated than those who fought against it. When Matthew Hazard realizes that the order is not to be countermanded, he takes the medal from around his neck, places it upon the desk of the Secretary of War, salutes and leaves the room. The next day he resigns.

This is the bare bones of the story. Mr. Horgan, who has written much on the West, has done, it seems to me who am no expert, thorough research on his novel. And no doubt there are many readers who will enjoy the rendering of the era in the drawing rooms of Washington as well as the deserts of Arizona. I do think, however, that Horgan's chief purpose was to reveal a man's character, to show, in General Quait's words, that "the very nature which won for us in Mexico must, given the givens . . . have done what it did in the office of the Secretary of War."

Now, since I'm sure that Horgan knew what he was about, what's my complaint? Just this: Matthew Hazard knows himself so well that his character is never articulated. He is a good and honorable man, yes; an heroic soldier, yes; but the texture of his character never comes through. As General Quait said, given the givens, Matthew had to act as he did. Yes, but the point is that we should not know that until afterwards, and we know it all along. Matthew Hazard is never fully alive because he is never quite free. That is why I said that I wish *A Distant Trumpet* had been longer. An older friend of Matthew's, an Army widow, "saw ahead for him what she had seen in other soldiers, old and young, who had for whatever reason left the service. They were clothed in the past, brave and yet lost in the present." I'd like to know that Matthew Hazard, too.

That's my complaint—a small one if what you want is a good historical novel, but not so small if you are weighing the claims of a "major American novel."

Voice for a Time

SAINT-EXUPERY. By Marcel Migeo. Translated by Herma Briffault. McGraw-Hill. $5.95.

By RICHARD GILMAN

WHEN I FIRST read the books of Antoine de St.-Exupéry—it was during the year he

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died, 1944, and I was the most uncomprehending soldier in the ranks of the war that killed him—I was overcome by emotions of heroic size and order that seemed to lift me from my suffocating surroundings and set me soaring the way his prose and his actual life soared. This airman-poet, philosopher-advocate of the task, the commitment, the renovation of purpose in life and the reconstruction of community, a man with an incomparable vantage-point, seemed to me to speak with a voice like none I had heard, although there were echoes of Malraux, of Conrad, all those for whom action, the flinging of the body into risks, yields up moral truth or is worthless.

Reading him again I am not so swept away. I no longer feel like following him into the sky, like a small boy after Lindbergh, nor is his thought, that strange union of practical, hard-earned sagacity, prayers and lamentations, as compelling as it once was.

And this is perhaps because he came to me and to many others at the crest of a wave of need, when what he had to offer—a meaning for suffering and sacrifice, the dream of a rapprochement between man and the earth, a new kind of heroism based on duty—were intensely relevant, like a light appearing to trapped miners.

It isn't our circumstances that have changed since he wrote—if anything the cave-in is more complete—but our capacity to respond to total visions of our regeneration. The downward path (but shouldn't we really recognize it as a climb, from a pit of tyrannical absolutism up to a level where we can at least do *something?*) can be traced from Malraux's full-scale revolutions through St.-Exupéry's own more limited idea of shared tasks to Camus' single, stripped act of illusionless affirmation.

Today a sentence like "Human anguish is the product of the loss by man of his true identity." (from *Flight to Arras*) is too loud and too confident; we are listening for some preliminary sound, like the opening of a cellar window.

If St.-Exupéry holds a place still,

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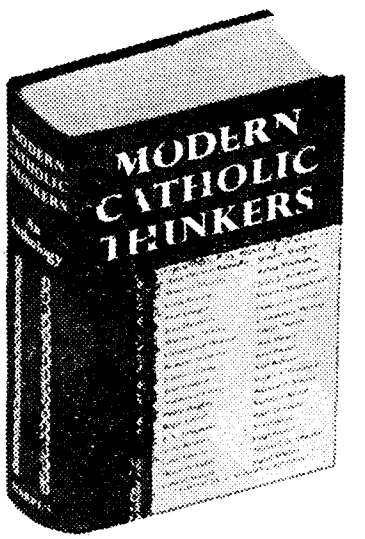

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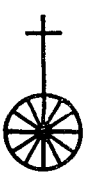

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it is by virtue of a style, of a handful or more of crystalline images, not by incantations, formulae or directions for a change of heart. One remembers a man examining ancient stones in the desert, two fliers sharing wine after danger, a flight through a typhoon in which a "struggle with chaos" resolves itself into the recognition that "there is nothing pathetic, nothing dramatic except in human relations."

It is the human relations that make up the pathos and the drama of St.-Exupéry's life, as Marcel Migeo's full-length biography reveals. There would be nothing extraordinary about this were it not for the fact that so many of us had an image of St.-Ex. (as he seems to have been called by his friends) as a lone eagle, on the order of Lindbergh although much more sensitive and intelligent, who chose his place in the clouds out of a disgust for men or at most out of a wish to contemplate them from a distance.

It is a mistake based on the notion, helped into being by our recent neglect of his actual works, that St.-Exupéry was an aviator who wrote, or possibly a man who juggled two vocations. In reality his relationship with the air was like that of Conrad with the sea; the sky was an arena for self-combat and self-discovery and one was a delegate of mankind. "It is man and not flying that concerns me most," he wrote, and everything bears this out.

Migeo, himself a flyer who knew St.-Ex. fairly well, is a painstaking biographer, the kind who strives for the "balanced portrait"; if you like this in literary biographies (to me it is almost always a process of subtle assassination, a de-mythologizing that ends in making a writer's work lose most of its mysterious being) then you will find the book worth looking into.

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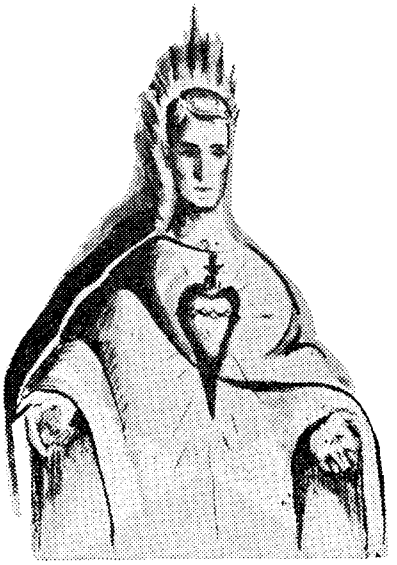

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St.-Exupéry bore the title of count, being the son of a not very well-off nobleman who died when he was a small boy, and Migeo makes a good deal of this aristocratic background in searching for clues to the origins of his subject's lofty qualities of mind. He dwells rather extensively, too, on St.-Exupéry's relations with his mother; they were apparently deep and yet far from serene, since he tormented her by his alternating periods of neglect and excessive demands.

But all of this, and all the details of St. Exupéry's career—the awakening of his interest in aviation, his service with the pioneering French airlines that conquered the Sahara and the Andes, his battle to be accepted as a pilot in World War II—are less meaningful than the account of his various friendships. For in the few friendships he had (he had a great many drinking companions and faces to be summoned for special occasions) he found his true themes.

He thought that if only men could feel themselves comrades-in-arms, the way the pilots of the heroic age of aviation did when they served a cause larger than themselves and found each other's touch consoling, the one "true problem—that of human relations," might be solved.

And that is what his books are really about. Migeo gives us the circumstances of the creation of those books and makes an effort to conjure up their beauty and significance. But he isn't good at it. For that you have to go to the works themselves, to the two novels, the three books of personal history and reflections, the children's story. If only for the sake of those few unassailable images.

REVIEWERS

Michael Novak has written for *America, Perspectives and Downside Review.*

Thomas Curley, a regular contributor, is a New York novelist and critic.

Richard Gilman writes frequently on literary and cultural matters for this and other publications.

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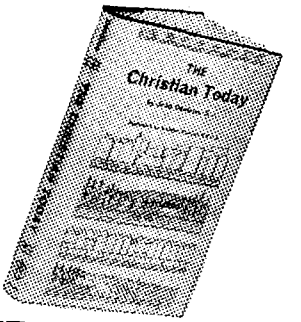

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by Angel Valtierra, S.J.

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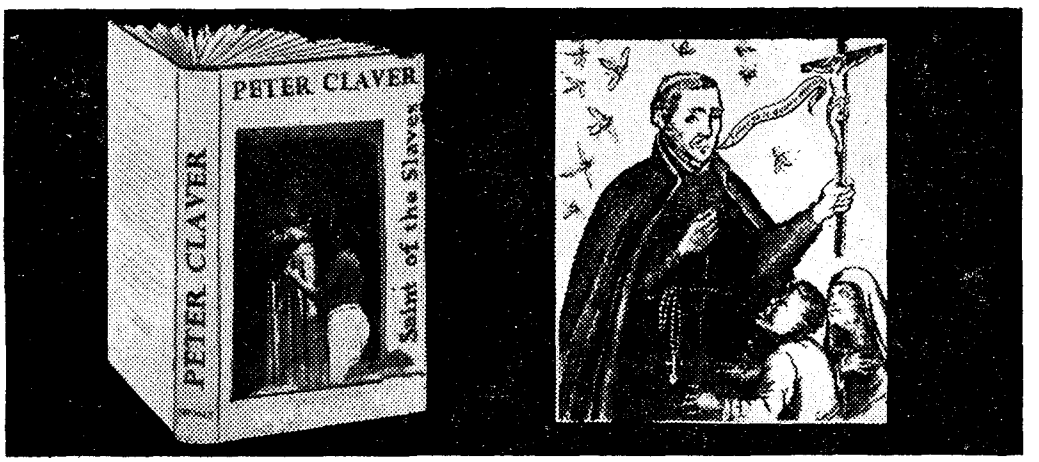

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